

File name: REH1-003.pdf

CCLAS session: 06-Daisy-04_00_28

- All records have been sorted by segment time (i.e., chronologically)
- Alice and I watched several-minute chunks of the video recording 06-Daisy-04_00_28, and then we went back through to discuss individual records.
- Time stamps in the notes below mark times in the audio recording REH1-003.wav

Record 50

- Daisy's utterance is <û â pîsim> 'This sun?'
- Alice says this is an adult-like utterance. Adult phonetic target: [ow a 'bisəm] (00:05:23)
- The Set Two DEM <mâu> is not OK in this situation: *<mâu â pîsim> 'this sun?'. Again, probably because Set Two is inappropriate in a question context.
- <mâu pîsim> 'This is the sun', without the question particle.
- <âu â û pîsim> 'Is this the sun?'. Here the DEM is an adnominal serving as a definite article. The <âu> is the identification pronoun discussed by Junker and MacKenzie (2004) "Southern East Cree Pronouns".
- <âu â pîsim> 'Is this a sun?'

Record 52

- Daisy's utterance is <û â kiyâh> 'This one too?'
- Alice says this is adult-like. Target is [ow a 'gija] (00:07:31)
- Daisy is committing an error where she shortens <kiyaah> to a single syllable [gæ^h], which contains the word-initial consonant and the word-final vowel.
- Again, the Set Two DEM is not appropriate in this questioning context: *<mâu â kiyaah> 'This one too?'. Instead <mâu kiyaah> without the question particle is a declaration 'this one too', not a question
- The question particle cannot be moved to the end of the utterance *<û kiyâh â> 'This one too?'. <kiyâh> is a conjunction, and so <û> constitutes the noun phrase in the sentence, which is being questioned by <â>. Perhaps this is less of a second-position constraint and more that <â> questions the element it follows.

Record 56

- Daisy's utterance is <misiwâ uhî â> 'All of these, OK?'
- Again, adult-like. Target is [mɪs'waʃhija] (00:08:22)
- <misiwâ> is a quantity particle 'all'.
- Again, no Set Two allowed: *<misiwâ mâuhî â>
- If we move the question particle, it changes the meaning: <misiwâ â uhî> = 'All of these?'. This is good evidence that <â> questions the element it follows.

Record 60

- Daisy's utterance is <wiyiwîtim=ihch> 'outside'. Alice says it's adult-like.
- Adult target: [wi'widɪmʃ^h] (00:11:16)

Record 67

- Adult's utterance is <mâu nâstâpwâh chitiyaayaahchipitaan û utâh mîchisûnâhtikw> 'You are moving this table a lot over here'
- One adult is off-camera and is talking to somebody else in the background, but I was interested because of the DEMs in this utterance.
- Here the Set Two DEM <mâu> means something like 'this one', like 'this one, you're moving a lot here, this table'
- There is a discontinuous NP <û mîchisûnâhtikw> here, and we can move the DEM next to the noun: <mâu nâstâpwâh chitiyaayaahchipitaan û mîchisûnâhtikw utâh> is OK, retains same meaning
- However, the DEM of the discontinuous NP cannot be moved to certain places: *<mâu nâstâpwâh û chitiyaayaahchipitaan utâh mîchisûnâhtikw> and *<mâu û nâstâpwâh chitiyaayaahchipitaan utâh mîchisûnâhtikw>. I'm not sure what the constraints are here, so that needs some following up.

Record 333

- Daisy's utterance is <kushâkâ wî uhî niki colouruwin> 'I will not color these'
- Adult pronunciation of this sentence: [k'ʃaga wi ʊ'hi nɪk:ʌləʊn] (00:21:04)
- The Set Two DEM <mâuhi> won't work in this sentence either—maybe because of the negation?
- Daisy is mixing Cree and English on the verb—using correct Cree inflection.
- The adult target would be <kushâkâ wî uhî niki mimâhtâwisinihân>, with the full Cree-only verb: [k'ʃaga wi ʊ'hi nɪkəmæ'təʊsənhæn] (00:21:33)

Record 343

- Daisy's utterance is <mikw pishch> 'just some'
- Adult pronunciation: [mʌk bɪʃtʰ] (00:25:03)

Record 344

- Daisy's utterance is *mikw apishîsh nichîh wâpimâshiwich chîh pâschisiswâkiniwîwich* 'I only saw a few. They were shot at.'
- Alice says this is adult-like. Here is the phonetic target: [mʊg ʊpʃɪʃ ɲdʒɪ wæbmʌʃʊʔtʃ tʃɪ bæʃsagənaʊʔtʃ] (00:25:26)

Record 348

- Daisy's utterance is <nâtâh kûkimâsâkihîkînihch nimâ kûkum> 'Over there at Trout Lake, right, grandma?'
- Adult target: ['nada gʊkəmaʊsakɪɲtʃ ɲ'ma 'gʊkəm] (00:26:51)

Record 349

- Daisy's utterance is <piyâshîshh chîhpâschiswâu wîshkichânish wâsh kâchîhîtâkîniwishit> 'He shot at the bird, they would call it little grey jay'
- Adult pronunciation: [bɪja'ʃɪʃʰ dʒɪ'bæs:əʊ wɪʃkə'dʒænʃ wʌʃ gədʒɪdægənowʃət] (00:30:24)
- In this utterance, <piyâshîshh> 'bird' is obviative, so the target is [bɪja'ʃɪʃʰ] (00:30:35)

- The singular form without the obviative suffix would be <piyâshîsh> [bi'jaʃiʃ] (00:30:52). The difference is really hard for me to hear. Alice says the word-final OBV suffix [h] is hard for Cree speakers and Cree learners to perceive as well

Record 351

- Daisy's utterance is <an anitih piyâshîshich> 'that little bird there'
- Looks like a potential error of commission: Daisy's using a plural suffix incorrectly on the word 'bird', which should be singular. This singular number is clear by both context as well as the singular form of the DEM <an> which needs to agree in number with the noun it's modifying.
- Here is the correct adult target: <an anitih piyâshîsh> [ɛn ɛnt bi'jaʃiʃ] (00:34:09)
- However, it's possible that Daisy meant to use the DIM suffix: Hard to tell if Daisy meant to use the PL suffix or if she's mispronouncing the DIM suffix. I'll go with Alice and count this as a production of the PL suffix.
- This is a discontinuous noun phrase, where the adverbial appears between the DEM and the noun.
- There is some kind of constraint on the distribution of adverbial demonstratives: They can't occur before the DEM + noun, but they can occur after the DEM + noun. Compare *<anitih an piyâshîshish> and <an piyâshîshish anitih> 'that little bird there'.

Record 352

- Daisy's utterance is <wîshkichânish wâsh chîh îsinihkâsuwich>
- Adult pronunciation: [wɪʃkə'dʒənʃ wəʃ dʒisən'gasʊʔtʃ] (00:40:28)
- The form with the DIM on <wîshkichânish> 'gray jay' = <wîshkichânishish> [wɪʃkə'dʒənʃɪʃ] (00:40:40) 'little gray jay'

Record 358

- Daisy's utterance is <mâuchî kê îhtishich nimâ> 'Here is how many there were, right?'
- Here is the adult pronunciation of the child utterance: ['maʊtʃi 'gaitʃitʃ nə'ma] (00:42:18)
- Alice says this isn't quite adult-like, because Daisy's using a plural form of the DEM. Instead, a more adult-like way would be: <mâu kê îhtishich nimâ>, with the singular DEM. Alice says "an adult would never say mâuchî" in this situation.
- This is an error of commission for Daisy, but I don't quite understand why, because the verb still stays inflected for a plural third-person ... but maybe because she's holding up her hand, it gets treated as a single unit? In this context, Daisy is using a Set Two DEM and referring to the number represented by the fingers she's holding up on her hand.
- Alice says even if Daisy had held up two hands, as if to say there were ten birds, it would still be <mâu>. Maybe this is getting at some kind of underlying disconnect in agreement between the Set Two DEM here and the verb that follows. Perhaps Daisy is really saying something like '[Here is] how many **they were**, right?' (literal translation there).
- Here we have a Set Two DEM being used in a potentially unexpected context: It's a question, and there is negation involved. However, this is a different kind of structure than where we've seen Set Two disallowed. Here, it's not a yes-no question, and the

question particle <â> isn't being used. Instead, it's a question formed from a declaration by using the negative particle as a tag at the end of the sentence.

Record 361

- Daisy's utterance is <umîchimiwâuh nimâ> 'their food, right?'
- <u-mîchim-iwâu-h> = 3-ni-an.pl-p.quest
- <umîchimiwâu> [əmi'dʒiməwəu] = 'their food' (00:49:44)
- <nimîchim> [nə'midʒəm] = 'my food' (00:50:33)
- <chimîchim> [tʃə'midʒəm] = 'your (SG) food' (00:50:36)
- <umîchim> [u'midʒəm] = 'his/her food' (00:50:40)
- This record is really interesting: It is good evidence that Daisy understands that an inanimate noun possessed by a third person in a coreference construction does not receive obviative marking (see Junker and Blacksmith 2001). So here, the previous utterance said that 'they' ate something, establishing 'they' as the subject. Then Daisy follows up with 'their food', so the (verbal) subject and the possessor are coreferenced—therefore, using an OBV on 'their food' would actually be an error: umîchimiwâu> [əmi'dʒiməwəu] = 'their food' (00:49:44)
- As further evidence, Alice says this form <umîchimiwâyiu> (not sure if spelling is OK), which had the obviative suffix, would be interpreted as meaning 'their food (somebody else's), where there is coreference.

Record 362

- Adult's utterance is <châkwâyiu mâk anyâ> 'what is that then?'
- Here the adult is using obviative forms in an equational construction. <mâk> is again in second position.
- A mismatch in obviation between the DEM and the referent creates an error: *<châkwâyiu mâk an> 'what is that then?'
- This is interesting because of the use of obviation: In record 360, the question about what the jays eat establishes the referent 'their food' as obviative (because the jays are proximate). This obviation carries into record 362, as the adult is asking what kind of food it is, so that's why she uses obviative forms in <châkwâyiu mâk anyâ>

Record 363

- Daisy's utterance is <umîchimiwâuh kiyipwâ> 'their food, of course'
- Alice says she hears Daisy producing the final -h on <umîchimiwâuh>

Record 364

- Daisy's utterance is <û mâ> 'look at this!'
- In a distraction from talking about the jays' food, Daisy points out something stuck to her wrist. She uses a proximate form of the Set One DEM <û> to refer to that thing.
- Even though Daisy is drawing attention to her wrist by raising it, a Set Two DEM would not work in this context, Alice says: *<mâu mâ> 'look at this!'. I wonder if that's because this is not quite a declaration like 'this is the one', and instead it's more of an exclamation.

Record 366

- Daisy's utterance is <yâkâyiu> 'sand (OBV)'
- Adult pronunciation: [jæ'gajo] (00:57:37). 'sand' (proximate) is <yâkâu> ['jægau] (00:57:40)
- This concludes a really cool sequence for obviation: Daisy is using the OBV ending to refer to the jays' food (in this case she's saying they eat sand), because the referent has been obviated for the past several utterances. Accordingly, proximate form <yâkâu> would have been incorrect in this context.

Record 414

- Daisy's utterance is <tâpâ awân mikw nîyi nipâyikushin> 'nobody, I'm all alone'
- Adult-like utterance, with a target of [tæba awan məkə ni nə'baɪkʃən] (01:03:27)

Record 418

- Daisy's utterance is *ninitiwâpimâu* 'I go and see him'
- Adult-like utterance, with this target: [nend'wapmaʊ] (01:04:08)

Record 422

- Daisy's utterance is *ninitiwâpimâu awân* 'I go and see him'
- Adult-like utterance, with this target: [nend'wapmaʊ] (01:04:08)

Record 426

- Daisy's utterance is <an kiyipwâ anitâh xxx kê mâshihât awâyih> 'the one that is there xxx who fights people'
- Adult pronunciation would be: [ɛn 'gerbʷə n'daʰ (xxx) kə'mæʃhad ə'wajo] (01:07:50)
- Here the DEM <an> is referring to 'the one', and the other DEM <awâyih> refers to the 'people' whom he fights: Good example of obviation on that DEM because the fighter is proximate, and the people he fights are obviative.
- Alice says the preceding utterance indicates the adults don't understand the name conveyed by <xxx>

Record 507

- Daisy's utterance is *tânitih û châpichistinik* 'where am I going to put this?'
- The adult pronunciation of this construction is ['dant o 'dʒabɪtstɪnɪkʰ] (01:13:46)
- Daisy's verb choice and pronunciation is very child-like, Alice says. For one, Daisy omits the first syllable of the verb initial.
- Furthermore, this is not an adult-like construction. Daisy is using the wrong verb, and the adult corrects her in the next record. The adult-like way to say it would be: <tânitih û châyih>
- The DEM <û> refers to the popsicle Daisy is holding. Using the Set Two DEM <mâu> would not be appropriate in this utterance, even though Daisy is holding the popsicle up while speaking—again, probably because it's a question.

Record 511

- Daisy's utterance is <nâti â> 'over there?'

- Daisy is right on the adult target here: [nat^ha] (01:18:06)
- Again, the Set Two DEM will not work in this context, and I think that's because it's a question: *<mânâti^h â> "doesn't make sense", Alice says. For comparison, without the question particle, <mânâti^h> would be used to declare something 'over there'

Record 513

- Daisy's utterance is <aniti^h â fridzeihch> 'there, in the fridge?'
- Mixing English and Cree, putting the LOC on the English word
- Alice commented on some of the English borrowings in Cree, saying they have adapted words like "sugar" and "tea"
- Some evidence that the possessive suffix is being applied to English borrowings, even when the word is inanimate: Alice says 'my sugar' would be <nishûkâum> (01:20:49)

Record 514

- Daisy's utterance is <nimiyâu an kipit> 'That's not a cupboard'
- Alice says this is an adult-like utterance.
- This record is interesting because it's translated as an equational construction but it's not the word order I expected for an equational structure. Perhaps that's because the negative particle <nimiyâu> is present. For example, <nimiyâu an> = 'that's not it', which is equational too. So is <kipit an> = 'that is a cabinet'. But *<nimiyâu kipit an> = *'that is not a cabinet'. In fact, <nimiyâu kipit an> would be interpreted as something like 'No, it's a cabinet'.

Record 595

- Adult's utterance is <awân uyâh> 'Whose are these?'
- In this context, the alternative form of <uyâyih> means the same as <uyâh>
- Because we don't see what the adult is referring to when she uses the DEM (she's off-camera), we can't tell if she's using an animate or inanimate form, both of which have the same pronunciation. We'd need her to have produced a noun afterwards, like

Record 599

- Adult's utterance is <awân mâk uyâh> 'whose are these then?'
- Again, the variant pronunciation <awân mâk uyâyih> is OK and yields same translation
- Moving the particle <mak> from its position is not acceptable: *<awân uyâh mak> vs. vs. *<mâk awân uyâh> vs. <awân uyâh> ('Whose are these?' = OK)
- I'm hypothesizing that <mâk> is a second-position element. In this entire session for Daisy, it always appears after the first word ... unless the first word is <tân>, and then <mâk> appears as the third element in the utterance. But this makes sense, because <tân> is a *wh*-word—so positing *wh*-movement could explain that.
- Oxford (2007) says that second-position particles are well-attested in Algonquian languages: "The enclitic behaviour of certain particles is in fact well-attested in the Algonquian languages, many of which have a class of second-position particles that obligatorily occur as enclitics hosted by the first word in the sentence. The Innu-aimun question marker ^ha, described in Chapter 8, is a second-position particle, as are the Cree focusing particles (Reinholtz and Wolfart 2001)" (p. 214).

- Oxford (2007) doesn't say whether <mâk> is a second-position clitic in Innu. He just mentions it as a coordinator particle (p. 267)

Record 600

- Daisy's utterance is <nîyi anihî> 'Those are mine'
- Alice says this is an adult-like way to express 'those are mine'. Target is [ni 'ɛnhi] (01:33:39)

Record 605

- Daisy's utterance is <awân an tân âyihtik an> 'Who is that? What is he doing?'
- <awân an> 'Who is that?'
- <tân âyihtik an> 'What is he doing?', but for some reason you can't move the DEM up before the verb *<tân an âyihtik>

Record 608

- They're talking about a child on the book's page, and Alice pointed out the syntactic differences that word order have regarding the DEM's function: <awâshish an> = 'that's a child' vs. <an awâshish> 'that child' (01:36:18)

Record 615

- Daisy's utterance is <mâu mân kutik atim> 'Here is another dog'
- Alice says this is an adult-like production. Target is [mau min kutik ɛdɔm] (01:40:37)
- Removing <mîn>: <mâu kutik atim> = 'Here is another dog', yields the same translation
- I did some testing on the position of <mîn>. The position of <mîn> is constrained. Moving <mîn> : *<mâu kutik atim mân> to say 'Here is another dog' seems strange ("we don't really say that").
- Daisy's utterance is an equational structure with a Set Two DEM. Using a Set One DEM changes the function of the DEM to an adnominal: <û mân kutik atim> = 'this other dog'. Or equational, if the DEM follows the noun: <kutik atim û> = 'this is another dog'. Moving <mîn> around again yields undesired structures: *<mîn kutik atim û>, *<kutik mân atim û>
- It seems to me that both <mîn> and <kutik> must precede the noun they modify, but when they are together, the DEM must precede them both. Not sure why this is the case for a Set One DEM.

Record 616

- Daisy's utterance is <mâu mân kâiyâkushimut> 'Here is the other one that's hiding'
- Adult pronunciation of Daisy's utterance: [mau min kajækʃomt] (01:40:45)
- Using a pre-nominal Set One DEM instead of the Set Two creates the expected adnominal structure: <û mân kâ iyâkushimut> = 'this other one that is hiding'
- Alice says Daisy's verb <kâiyâkushimut> isn't entirely adult-like (01:46:13). Instead, an adult would say <âkushimut>: <mâu mân kâ âkushimut>. Alice says the <iy> in the child's verb <kâiyâkushimut> makes it seem child-like.

Record 618

- Daisy's utterance is <iyâkushimuu mâu=chî utâh iyâkushimuwich> 'He is hiding, these ones here are also hiding', again with the more child-like verbal <iy> from Record 616
- Adult pronunciation of that child utterance: [ijækʃəmʊ: maʊdʒi ʊda^h ijækʃəmʊtʃ] (01:48:22)

Record 620

- Adult's utterance is <awân wîyi anitih> 'who's that one there?'
- Using the emphatic pronoun <wîyi> here
- Alice says <awân wîyi anitih> is equivalent to <awân an anitih>, where the pronoun is swapped with a DEM.

Record 621

- Daisy's utterance is: <mâtuu an> 'that one is crying'
- Adult pronunciation: ['mætow en] (01:51:49)
- Using the pronoun changes the meaning a bit: <mâtuu wîyi> = 's/he's crying'

Record 624

- Adult's utterance is <an mâk wî kutik tân âyihtik> 'what about the other one, what is he doing?'
- <an mâk wî kutik> = 'the other one'. So I think it's an adnominal use of the DEM <an>, where <kutik> is the head of the noun phrase. Not sure if this is a proper discontinuous NP per se, because the intervening elements are particles.
- <an kutik tân âyihtik> = 'what is the other one doing?'. The wh-word isn't fronted here, but it seems to work. Compare to *<tân an kutik âyihtik> 'what is the other one doing?'; Alice says "it has to be tân âyihtik together". I forgot to ask if you could say <tân âyihtik an kutik> then.

Record 625

- Daisy's utterance is <ice_cream muwâu> --intended meaning is 's/he's eating ice cream'
- Daisy clearly does not produce the obviative [h] on "ice cream", as neither Alice nor I hear it. This is an error of omission, because Daisy leaves the obviative ending off of the noun "ice cream". Without this OBV suffix, the ice cream is the subject of the VAI verb, i.e., the agent who is doing the eating. Alice says "it needs an [h], even if it's in English". Shows the importance of Cree morphology on English borrowings.
- The correct adult form: <ice_creamh muwâu>: [ajskɪim^h 'mowau] (01:58:58)

Record 627

- Adult's utterance <tân âyihtik mâk wîyi an> 'what is that one doing then?'
- Here <mâk> seems to be out of second position, but I think that's just a consequence of wh-movement.
- <wîyi an> = 'that one'. Alice seems to think it's the pronoun <wîyi> not just the homophonous particle <wî>. Interestingly, it doesn't create an equational interpretation like 'it is s/he'.
- Alice did not like when I tried to switch the order of the DEM and the PRO in order to create an adnominal structure: *<tân âyihtik mâk an wîyi> and *<tân âyihtik an wîyi>

- <tân âyihtik mâk an> = still means ‘what is that one doing then?’ So removing the <wîyi> doesn’t change the translation, but perhaps it changes the degree of emphasis on <an>?
- Removing the conjunction is OK too: <tân âyihtik an> = ‘what is that one doing?’
- So here is the basic progression, in stripping away elements: <tân âyihtik mâk wîyi an> ‘what is that one doing then?’ to <tân âyihtik mâk an> ‘what is that one doing then?’ to <tân âyihtik an> = ‘what is that one doing?’. This shows that <an> is really the subject noun phrase of the verb, and that <wîyi> is a modifier of some sort.
- I’m suspicious that it might really be <wî> here, but I’m not sure. It’s hard for even a speaker like Alice to tell sometimes (see 02:10:16, for example)

Record 631

- Daisy’s utterance is <û mâk wî tân âyihtik> ‘And this one, what is she doing?’
- Adult pronunciation of that: [o mag wi dan aj^htɪk] (02:12:08)
- Again, < mâk> is in the second position, and we get DEM + <mâk wî> as a unit: <û mâk wî> ‘and this one?’
- There is an interesting potential difference in word order when <wîyi> is used instead of <wî>: In record 627 it’s <mâk wîyi an>. Need to follow up there.
- Moving the *wh*-word plus verb to the front in *<tân âyihtik û mâk wî> is no good, but I wonder if that’s because <mâk> is out of the second position.
- *<tân âyihtik mâk wî û> would mean ‘What is she doing, this one?’. At first, Alice said it was OK then she said it doesn’t quite work.

Record 638

- Daisy’s utterance is < skipping rope=yiu nimâ> ‘(with) a skipping rope, right?’
- Adult pronunciation of this: [skɪpɪŋɹopiyo nɪma] (02:14:33)
- This is interesting for tracking obviation in discourse: Back in record 631, they established the referent with the proximate DEM <û>, referring to ‘this one’ who is skipping. Accordingly, here the English borrowing “skipping rope” receives an obviative suffix, because the person using the rope is already proximate. Daisy clearly understands this and produces the correct OBV suffix.

Record 641

- Daisy’s utterance is < pîshâkinâpî wâsh kiyâh an>
- Adult pronunciation is [bɪʃæɡəˈnɒbi wæʃ ɡɪjə^h ɛn] (02:15:12)
- This one is really interesting, because it looks like the child is doing a proximate shift: She’s following the adult’s prompt to use the Cree word for ‘rope’, but Daisy isn’t just repeating the adult. Instead, she produces the lexeme ‘rope’ in a proximate form, shifting the PROX status away from the ‘she’ who has been proximate since record 631.

Record 645

- Daisy’s utterance is <mîchiwâhpihch uchî chîh îtuhtâwich> ‘These ones here went to the teepee’
- Adult pronunciation is [mitsəwaptʰ ɔdʒi tʃiɛjt^hdawtʃ] (02:18:32)

- Here Daisy uses a DEM inflected with the plural suffix to refer to ‘these ones’, and she clearly changes the ending of the verb from record 643 to agree with the plural subject.

Record 647

- Daisy’s utterance is <tâpâ nichischâyihân utih tânitâh kê ihtik> ‘I don’t know how/what this one here was doing’
- Adult-like pronunciation: [tabɪ nsejtən ot tanda gatik] (02:19:44)
- The <tânitâh> conveys the meaning of ‘how/what’
- Daisy has turned the page in the book she’s describing, so she’s looking at a new referent. Here the adverbial DEM <utih> doesn’t quite correspond to ‘this one’. I think it’s something like ‘(this one) right here’.

Record 648

- Daisy’s utterance is <tânitâh kêihtich wî uchî> ‘What were they doing?’
- Adult pronunciation: [tandagatɪʃwiudʒi] (02:25:56)
- Here the DEM <uchî> refers to ‘they’/‘these ones’. Again, we get the particle <wî> occurring before a DEM/noun it’s modifying

Record 650

- Daisy’s utterance is <nânîpuwîwich uchî> ‘These ones are standing around’
- Adult target pronunciation: [nænibuwiʃudʒi] (02:26:34)
- Again, the DEM is a pronominal referring to ‘these ones’

Record 652

- Daisy’s utterance is <uchî mâk wî tân âyihich> ‘How about these? What are they doing?’
- Here Daisy has turned a new page in the book she’s discussing, so she’s establishing a new referent for <uchî>
- Adult pronunciation is [udʒi mag wi dan ajʰtɪʃ] (02:27:19)
- Here we get <wî> occurring after the DEM. I wonder if that’s because <mâk> must be in the second position, and so you probably couldn’t say <wî uchî mâk tân âyihich>. I forgot to ask about that.

Record 654

- Daisy’s utterance is <û mâk wîyi > ‘How about him?’
- Literal translation: ‘And this one?’
- Adult pronunciation: [omagwi] (02:28:02)
- Can’t seem to move the DEM in this construction: *<mâk wîyi û>. This seems odd, because we’ve had the DEM follow <wîyi> before. I wonder if this is unacceptable because it puts <mâk> into the first position? Needs following up.

Record 658

- Up through record 673, this record begins a really interesting and confusing sequence for obviation and the ambiguity in the number interpretation of obviative inflection on animate nouns → the fact that they are looking at a picture book together, with the

referents established by the pictures, clears up the potential ambiguity ... this shows the importance of context in the face of the DEM system's syncretism

- Daisy is looking at a book, and the video at the end of record 673 clearly shows that the right-side page shows one girl holding one ball, and the left-side page shows one boy throwing multiple snowballs.
- In 657, Daisy turns a new page and points to the right-side page of the book: 'How about her?' Adult says she's playing with a ball. 'Ball' is not obviated, even though I'd think it should be ... but there is a detransitivizer on the verb. So maybe that affects the obviative status of 'ball'?

Record 660

- Now the adult points to the left-side page and says < uchî mâk wî> 'How about these?', clearly using the animate plural ending with the DEM. This indicates that she is talking about the snowballs the boy is throwing.

Record 661

- Adult says < tân âyihtik an nâpâshish> 'What is that boy doing', referring to a singular 'boy'.

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Record 662

- Daisy's utterance is <âih kûnh wâpinâu> 'Um, he is throwing snow'
- Adult pronunciation of that: [a^h gun^h 'wabənaʊ] (02:35:22)
- This is another good example of obviation used by Daisy: Here the hesitation pronoun <âih> is inflected and obviated and refers to 'snow', which is also obviated—all because the proximate argument is the one throwing the snow. She's using the obviative <h> on 'snow', which is an animate noun. Her verbal inflection indicates that she has correctly categorized 'snow' in this structure as an obviated animate argument.

Record 669

- Daisy's utterance is <wâpinâu wâsh û chiki iyin uyâh> 'You should say "This one is throwing this"'
- Adult pronunciation of that: [wab^ənaʊ waf o tʃikijɪn uja^h] (02:37:58)
- Daisy is committing an interesting error here: She is clearly looking at the picture of the girl holding a ball, and she says that 'this one is throwing' <uyâh>. She's applying the same structure used to describe the other page, and the verb and the DEM she is using could be referring to a singular or plural referent. However, because she is pointing at the girl, it looks like she is using the singular meaning of <uyâh> but she is using the wrong verb because the girl isn't 'throwing' anything.
- Daisy's producing a more child-like structure, where the clause 'this one is throwing these' is interrupted, and the more adult-like way is <wâpinâu wâsh û uyâh chiki iyin>, moving the unit 'you should say' after the object of the first verb

Record 670

- Daisy's utterance is <wâpinâu wâsh uyâh> 'She's throwing this'
- Adult target: [wab^ənaʊ waf uja^h] (02:44:21)

Record 671

- Adult's utterance is <wâpinâu â aniyâh? 'Is she throwing that?
- I think here the adult is questioning the child's verbal error: The child has said the girl is throwing something, but the girl is just holding a ball.

Record 673

- Daisy's utterance is <tûhwân>, which could be interpreted as SG 'ball (obv)' or PL 'balls (OBV)'.
- The noun 'ball' is OBV because the girl is throwing it. Alice hears Daisy produce the OBV suffix [h]. This must be the SG 'ball', based on context.
- This ends a really good sequence for obviation

Record 675 (called 674 on the audio file)

- Daisy's utterance is <tân âyihtik mâk wî û chititâyimâu> 'What do you think this one is doing?'
- Alice says this is adult-like, with this pronunciation: [dan 'aj^htik mag wi o ʃtə'dajmaʊ] (02:56:46)

Record 686

- Daisy's utterance is < û mâk wî tân âyihtik chihchipihtâu â wîyi û>
- Adult pronunciation: [o mag wi dan aj^htik tʃ^htʃ^hp^htaʊ^w a wij o] (03:03:07)—several secondary clusters! Daisy shows very sophisticated pronunciation of the secondary clusters.
- < wîyi û> means 'this one'—example of that pronoun before DEM